

MATERIAL CULTURE

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245 than the Riffian variety. They are grown on trellises outside of and trailing onto the houses, and along the village paths. Since they are trained to climb up trellises, they are not cut back like the Riffian grapes, but are allowed to grow as long as they will, for purposes of shade.

[438] *Cactus*. The one species of cactus found in the Rif, the prickly pear variety, is called by its Arabic name, *karamus en Nasra*, or the Christian fig. It is found along the seacoast, in the eastern tribes up to Beni Tuxin and Gzennaya, and in the southern part of Gzennaya. It is absent in northern Gzennaya, in southern Beni Urriaghel, in Beni Amart, and in the Senhaja Schir. Where it is grown it serves as a convenient fence about the house, and as a supply of mediocre food in time of famine. Women and young girls pick its fruit, remove the needles, and sell it in market at a low price.

● 244 *Garden Plants and Care of Gardens*. *batata*, the potato. This vegetable is obviously of American origin, although it has been grown for a long time in the Senhaja and central Rif and has become an integral part of the local culture. It is divided into two varieties: the reddish type, the more frequent, and the white type, found chiefly in Beni Amart. The white is considered the older. Potatoes are grown only where there is irrigation, and then usually in terraces.

er khizzu, the carrot. This vegetable, considered to be of Arab introduction, is not favored and is rarely grown.

er baer, the onion. This is planted in the following manner: in March onions are cut in two or more pieces lengthwise and planted; these pieces are allowed to grow big and go to seed, and the seeds are collected and sown in a starting-bed in August; the next year the stalks are cut off and the plants are separated and transplanted.

jifih, the white turnip.

er firfir, the pepper. Peppers are specially treated, being fertilized with goat manure when they begin to flower.

jubashth, a species of small bean.

ibawen ibershanen, black beans.

thakhsashth, a type of vegetable marrow or squash.

thakhsashth n yeri, the gourd, raised for bottles only and not eaten.

243 *Cultivation of Grains and Leguminous Plants*. *dra thesdal*, durra, is considered by the Riffians to be of recent introduction from the Negro country. It is grown only by men who have no terraces whereon to grow maize (*dra*), since it can be grown dry. It is not greatly valued and is not commonly grown.

[262] *shinti*, rye,¹ is grown without irrigation on the mountain slopes where the land, too steep for ploughing, may be worked with the hoe. It may be grown on land which does not belong to the farmer, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture, and hence is an important source of food supply for families owning insufficient arable land. The Riffians prize rye highly, considering it rich in food value and a strength producer. Since the Arabs ridicule them for eating it, the Riffians seldom discuss the subject with strangers, or produce food made from

¹ Samples of *shinti* from Gzennaya, now in the Harvard Botanical Museum, have been identified by F. Tracy Hubbard of the Harvard Botany Department as rye. Moulieras mentions *shinti* in his description of the Beni Du Nasr, calling it "une sorte de blé blanc." Procopius ascribes the cultivation of a grain called *Shapa* to the mountain Berbers of his time. This grain, identified with the Latin *crinco*, was perhaps rye. Moulieras, *Le Maroc Inconnu*, vol. 1, p. 53; Procopius, bk. iv, chap. 6, l. 13; Freund, *Latin-English Lexicon*; Liddell and Scott's *Greek-English Lexicon*, unabridged, 1982 edition; Vavilov, *The Origin of Cultivated Plants*, p. 246.

412 On the other hand, the sieve is also used as a fertility charm.

231 Among the Ait Waryager, when a person has bought some sheep or goats, he puts a sieve at the entrance to the yard and makes the animals walk over it with a view to rendering them very fertile; and he then sprinkles the sieve with water to expel any evil influences which may cling to them.

244 [251] There are, moreover, certain superstitions and ceremonies connected with the vegetable garden.

The Ait Waryager believe that [252] a woman's presence in a vegetable garden would make it dry.

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RITES PRACTISED FOR THE PURPOSE OF INFLUENCING THE WEATHER

789 In Morocco the failure of the crops is mostly due not to the lack of sunshine or too much rain, but to drought, and to avert this danger many different methods are resorted to.

The orthodox method is to perform the so-called salat al-istisqa in the morning at the musalla, or public place of prayer outside the town or village. This ceremony consists of two rek'at, or ordinary forms of prayer, two hotbat, or sermons, and one du'a, or supplication in which God is asked to send rain. In the prayer, however, the formula of takbir (allahu akbar, "God is most great") is replaced by the phrase istagfir allah, "implore the pardon of God", in accordance with the saying of the Koran, "Ask God's pardon, for he is merciful and will give you abundant rain; he has placed the rain as a reward for him who begs forgiveness for his faults". After the first hotba the preacher changes his mantle from the right to the left shoulder and vice versa, and the same is done by the congregation. That this is intrinsically a magical act calculated to bring about a change in the weather is apparent from the statement of the commentators that it is meant to show God the desire of the [255] faithful to see the threatening famine "turned" into abundance.

[257] Among the Ait Waryager the people go to the mosque of the village or a shrine, walk three times round it, sacrifice a sheep or goat, and make fatha. If this does not produce the desired effect the more religious members of the community, after they have said their

tradition that rye could be grown on unclaimed land, beyond the reaches of ordinary agriculture.*

Hunger or plenty depends largely upon the success or failure of the cereal crop. Tree and garden crops supplement but never supplant the cereals. The most important secondary crops are from fruit and nut trees, which are especially numerous in the western part of the Rif. The most important are the olive, pomegranate, fig, and walnut. Apples and plums are grown by some of the highland tribesmen, who graft them on hawthorns. At lower elevations, especially on south-facing slopes, orange, peach, and apricot trees are occasionally seen.

Dried figs and raisins are second only to the cereals as staple foods. The importance of the trees is indicated by the complicated pattern of their ownership. On a given farm, all the trees may belong to an outside party, perhaps the former owner of the land who refused to relinquish title to his trees. One tree may be owned by several people in partnership, and sometimes different people own different branches, or claim parts of the crop on the ground. At one time the Rifians seem to have used grapes or other fruits to make fermented beverages, for Leo Africanus describes them as being "so excessively given to drink, that they scarcely reserve wherewithal to apparel themselves."

Irrigated plots in the valleys of Wad Ghis and Wad Nkour produce broad beans, chickpeas, potatoes, onions, tomatoes, peppers, carrots, turnips, and squash. Add eggs, and an occasional feast of mutton or goat meat, and you have the main ingredients of the Rifian diet. In recent years fish have been brought in from Alhucemas to the principal rural markets. Fish are regarded as a delicacy, and are usually fried and eaten in the market place.

West of the Rif the dietary situation improves, but it becomes more hazardous toward the east. This distinction is based on the differences in precipitation and runoff. In the eastern lowlands, precipitation is too meager for vines and figs, and extensive irrigation is possible only in the valleys of Wad Kert and Wad Moulouya. The tribesmen of Garek suffer from acute want in any unusually dry year, and most adults remember at least one famine. Garek and Gal'aya are northern Morocco's main areas of emigration.

In the Sanhajan highlands and in most of Ghmara and Jbala, each hamlet has a reliable source of irrigation water. The main irrigated crops are maize, beans, and squash. The planting of beans between the rows of maize may indicate an unformulated appreciation of the value of pulses as restorers of the nitrogen content of the soil. Perhaps not; for the plants in this New World combination seem to have been introduced as one complex by Andalusian refugees.

In most of the central highlands, and especially in Sanhaja as-Srair, kif, or hemp (*Cannabis sativa*), is an important cash crop. It is grown under irrigation during the summer, and is usually planted and harvested at about the same time as maize. After it has been reaped, the stems of the plant are submerged in a stream and held down with stones. After two or three days of soaking, the fibers are separated and used to make cord, mats, and baskets.

Traveling from the central highlands toward the Atlantic lowlands, one notes

* C. S. Coon, "Tribes of the Rif," *Harvard African Studies*, 9 (1931), 47-49.

* Leo Africanus, *The History and Description of Africa* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1896), II, 516.